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Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. xxiv & 502, figs. 152 (112 b/w, 40 col.), tables 1. £29.99. ISBN 978-0-521-72160-8 (Pbk).

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This important book's title focuses our attention not on what we mean by 'revolution', but rather - what is the transformative role of culture? In addressing this, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill crosses traditional disciplinary boundaries to produce a thoughtful analysis of the evolution of Roman Imperial culture in the period between the last two centuries BCE and the Early Empire, mapping cultural transformation onto political transformation.¹

The book is divided into four parts, with two chapters in each. The first ('Cultures and Identities') seeks to move on from the author's earlier critiques of models for cultural transformation: 'Culture does not respond to the food-blender: you cannot throw in chunks of Greek and Roman, press a button, and come out at the end with a homogeneous suspension of bland pap.'² The task of developing this problem opens with a discussion of Ennius' famous representation of his own identity in which he equates his ability to speak three languages with having three hearts (*tria corda*), as well as the less familiar but no less pertinent example of Favorinus – a prominent Second Sophistic – whose 'cultural ambidexterity' (p.5-6) was evident in a combination of Gallic, Greek and Roman languages and participatory behaviours. Both men illustrate what Wallace-Hadrill regards as one of the most remarkable features of the Roman world: 'cultural triangulation' between Roman, Greek and another.

¹The work shares a title with the author's thoughtful review, written nearly two decades ago, of Paul Zanker's influential study of the evolution of Augustan visual culture. Zanker 1988; Wallace-Hadrill 1989.

² Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 164.

Studies of cultural identity have for some time focused on the nuances of formation and redefinition. Dissatisfied with earlier studies which borrow metaphors of 'fusion' (two things fuse to create a third which, though blended from others, is completely new) or 'hybridity' (in which the cross-fertilisation of different species creates offspring which are genetically different from both parents but retain characteristics of both), scholars have increasingly looked for different ways to describe what happens when different cultural structures come into contact. In Italy, Nicola Terrenato has used the concept of 'cultural *bricolage*' to explain change and continuity at Volterra (*bricolage* describes the process [and outcomes] in which 'new cultural items are obtained by means of attributing new functions to previously existing ones').³ More recently, one can point to Roman Roth's work on the stylistic variations in black-gloss pottery at Volterra and Capena (a proxy for diverse cultural responses), and on the cultural *koiné* (defined as a standard set of cultural assumptions) of central Italy.⁴ Wallace-Hadrill turns to the concept of codeswitching from studies of multilingualism to explain the relationship between Hellenisation and Romanisation: not two opposites but 'two closely interrelated aspects of the same phenomenon' (p.26).⁵ As a result, he avoids pigeonholing one or the other as superior, while also freeing his narrative from a strictly chronological model.

Transformation in Roman Italy was a result of codeswitching - the adaptation of behaviours or customs from a wide repertoire to suit particular contexts and interactions. These are the result of a prolonged cultural debate, accelerated through Roman expansion but rooted in both the Greek colonisation of the southern peninsula and in Italian regionalism. Against 'fusion' or 'hybridity', Wallace-Hadrill's own metaphor is the drawing and pumping of blood to and from the heart. This has two phases – the diastolic and the systolic. In the

³ Terrenato 1998: 23.

⁴ Roth 2007, forthcoming.

⁵ Seen in Wallace-Hadrill 1998: 83-6.

former, Greek culture is drawn into Italy; in the latter, the subsequent culture is pumped away to the provinces.

The remainder of Part I turns to examples, and discusses 'Dress, language and identity' (pp.38-70) to demonstrate how cultural transformations are a process of power relationships through the deployment of particular cultural cues in particular social contexts. Naturally, the toga – Virgil's marker of Roman identity *sine qua non* – is discussed at length as a conscious marker of Roman identity as opposed to Greek. Turning to language, Wallace-Hadrill examines codeswitching in its proper linguistic sense (between Latin and Greek, as well as Oscan and other Italic dialects), and the standardisation of Latin necessary for it to function as an imperial language.

The lengthy second part of the book (pp.71-210, 'Building Identities') deals with the formation of architectural codeswitching and the (literal) building of identities, as part of a broader analysis of urban developments in Italy, between Roman, Greek and local influences.⁶ Wallace-Hadrill marshals the evidence from Roman Italy's substantial archaeological corpus (treatment of the Campanian cities is inevitable but not exclusive) to reveal the consistent patterns that can be discerned behind the variety (pp.73-143). Monumental building is regarded as an expression of communal identity and an example of *autoromanizzazione*, and attention is paid to, for example, the famous terraced sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, a unique structure which reveals the creative effects of cultural multilingualism, creating something which is neither solely Roman nor Greek.

A discussion of architecture and cultural identity must engage with Vitruvius (pp.144-210). Wallace-Hadrill's reading is quite different from what has gone before: Vitruvius is not compiling long-held knowledge but is actively constructing a Roman identity by creating the discourse on cultural change in his writing (a fitting meaning for the ἄρχι-τέκτων). This radically moves Vitruvius from a technical handbook on Roman building practice to a core

⁶ See also Becker forthcoming.

building-block of Roman identity, in the same way that Varro's *De lingua Latina* is not merely an etymological survey but is a construction of what it means to be Roman – written at a time when the existential centrality of the city and the citizen is under increasing pressure of dilution by imperial expansion. Like Cicero and Varro, Vitruvius is ostensibly an author who reveals Roman identity but is actually an active participant in its construction – one of the 'major players in the redefinition of identity' (p.216).

This leads to a broader discussion of the construction of cultural knowledge. Part III ('Knowledge and Power') is an expansion of some of the author's most familiar articles on pre- and post-Augustan epistemological systems, which acknowledged their debt to Michel Foucault's concept of power as the outcome of knowledge.⁷ The Late Republic and the early Principate is not only the period in which knowledge *is* power, but in which knowledge *redefines* power; it is the period in which the ruling 'insider' elite lost control and authority over crucial cultural definitions, and knowledge was increasingly in the hands of specialists, adlected under Augustus at the expense of the old senatorial oligarchy. This epistemological system reinforced Augustus' political and social authority through a new cultural order of knowledge. We encounter Foucault's power-knowledge concept again in 'Knowing the City' (pp.259-312). The Severan *Forma Urbis Romae* is a pertinent example. This had its origins in Augustan antecedents, such as that from the Via Anicia, produced at a similar time to Agrippa's mapping of Empire. Transformation is assured through the redefinition of (in this case, spatial) knowledge and the methods of its organisation and dissemination.⁸ Although dating to the early-third century CE, the *Forma Urbis Romae* appears because it is a consequence of the Augustan cultural revolution of Foucauldian power-knowledge. On the relationships between space, knowledge and power, as well as based on his earlier discussion of identity as formed through repeated actions, more might be said of the transformation of the use of space in the late Republic and early Principate. The late Republic and Augustan period

⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 2005.

⁸ A view echoed in Trimble 2007: 378.

witnessed a shift in the accessibility of the spaces of decision-making, not only in the city of Rome but visible also throughout the first century CE in Latium and Campania.⁹

The final part of the book deals with luxury (pp.315-55) and fashion (pp.356-440). Luxury is a relative term and one which experienced great change as a result of the economic opportunities afforded by Rome's imperial expansion. While Roman society was a political bottleneck (p.450), an increase in consumer goods meant that the possession and display of luxury items enabled the expression of status identities in ways other than by rank or office. This enrols the often marginalised sub-elite within the active transformation of cultural identities, evidenced by Tiberius' abandonment of ineffective sumptuary legislation in 22 CE. The chapter on 'Waves of Fashion' (pp.356-440) presents a lengthy analysis of a panoply of luxury items and their representation in the textual and archaeological records. Sub-luxury items position fashion on a spectrum, with gradations of status throughout; it is not all about imitating those above you but also distancing oneself from those below you. Returning to the analogy of a beating heart, Wallace-Hadrill considers how certain items/fashions flowed into Italy from the East (the diastolic phase) and were subsequently produced in Italy and distributed as 'Roman' items onwards (the systolic phase), including back to Greece.

The work necessitates brief overviews of often complex and convoluted intellectual histories. The author's skill at this translates well into the use of theoretical frameworks, for example relating Pierre Bourdieu's verbose theory of *habitus* to the emergence of Greek identity with welcome brevity: 'The Greek [...] suggests not *being* something but *becoming* it by repetitive action, what Bourdieu calls *habitus*'. Wallace-Hadrill does not waste words. His

⁹ Newsome forthcoming discusses this process at length with a particular interest in the changes to the spaces of fora. Wallace-Hadrill touched on the theme of access in an earlier summary of the Augustan period (1996: 285-95), but the subject is worthy of a more detailed discussion. The author of this review is currently engaged in this study (see also Newsome 2010).

writing is at all times persuasive and readable. Footnotes are abundant but usually are brief, and restricted to that which is directly relevant. Cross-referencing is frequent.

Returning to the theme which opens the book, and this review, Ennius is placed in the context of his native Rudiae (in the sub-peninsula of Salento at the 'heel' of Italy, the area of *Magna Graecia*). While he presents a suitably apposite example with which to open the discussion, the subsequent chapters concentrate on parts of Italy further north, around Rome, Latium and Campania, with less attention paid to the Greek cities in the south. One of the most useful legacies of this book will be that it stimulates attention on the complexities of cultural change in other areas and periods. Fittingly, the book is dedicated to The British School at Rome.

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